

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE

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NODIS

FOR DR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT BRASILIA 4657 ACITION SECSTATE JUNE 08.

QUOTE BRASILIA 4657

NODIS

FROM ROBERT PASTOR TO ZBIGNIEW BREZINSKI

STATE PASS NSC AND WHITEHOUSE; NSC MAKE DISTRIBUTION AT
YOUR DESCRETION.

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, OVIP (CARTER, ROSALYNN)

SUBJECT: IMPRESSIONS AT HALFWAY

1. I UNDERSTAND FROM MRS. CARTER THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD
LIKE MORE INFORMATION ON HOW THE TRIP IS GOING, AND I CAN WELL
UNDERSTAND WHY THE MEMCONS ARE NOT CONVEYING THE MOOD OF THE
TRIP. AND SO LET ME USE THIS MEMO TO GIVE YOU SOME IMPRESSIONS
OF HOW THE TRIP IS PROGRESSING, AND WHAT I THINK WE ARE
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ACCOMPLISHING. AND YOU WANT TO ORALLY CONVEY
PORTIONS OF THE MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT.

JAMAICA -- THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR TO KEEP IN MIND IN EVALUA-
TING MRS. CARTER'S TALKS WITH PRIME
MINISTER MANLEY IS THAT SHE HAD OVER SEVEN HOURS OF THEM;
ABOUT HALF OF THAT WAS SPENT IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITHOUT
ANYONE ELSE PRESENT. MANLEY HAS GREAT INTELLECT, POISE, AND
RANGE, AND DURING THE COURSE OF THE TALKS, HE DISCUSSED
ALMOST EVERY CONCEIVABLE ISSUE IN US-LATIN AMERICAN

RELATIONS ALTHOUGH HE PROBABLY SPENT THE GREATEST PART OF THE TIME ON NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES. CUBA AND JAMAICA RELATIONS ALSO FIGURED LARGE ON HIS AGENDA.

2. MRS. CARTER CONVEYED TO MANLEY THE SENSE HE WAS DEALING WITH A SYMPATHETIC GOVERNMENT, AND MANLEY IN FACT CONFIDED IN HER BY SAYING, QUITE ACCURATELY, THAT HE HAD

DEPENDEN ON A CARTER VICTORY LAST NOVEMBER, PRIMARILY BECAUSE HE FELT THAT THE REPUBLICANS WERE HOSTILE TO "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM" IN JAMAICA. AS ON EVERY STOP, SHE UNDERLINED THE SINCERITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, NONPROLIFERATION, ARMS REDUCTION, AND THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. SHE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ADJUSTING GLOBAL POLICIES TO SUIT THE PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS.

3. MALEY'S CENTRAL INTEREST WAS THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, AND HE PROBED TO SEE HOW MUCH THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION DIFFERED FROM THE PREVIOUS ONE. HE, OF COURSE, CONCLUDED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO DEVELOPING WORLD ASPIRATIONS, WHICH HE CAPSULIZED AS A RE-ORDERING OF THE "TERMS OF TRADE". A SECOND PURPOSE OF HIS QUESTIONS WAS TO DISCOVER WHETHER THE US WOULD ACCEPT IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM IN DEEDS AS WELL AS WORDS. AGAIN, I THINK MRS. CARTER PERSUADED HIM
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THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS EAGER TO STAND BESIDE DEMOCRACIES, HOWEVER THEY WANT TO ORGANIZE THEIR ECONOMIES.

4. HER REAL COUP WAS GETTING MALEY'S COMMITMENT TO SIGN AND SEEK THE RATIFICATION OF THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND TO TRY TO GAIN THE SUPPORT OF OTHER CARICOM COUNTRIES AT THEIR MEETING IN JULY.

5. MANLEY DELIBERATELY AVOIDED, OR RATHER SIDE-STEPPED, THE ISSUE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO JAMAICA. INSTEAD, AT THE END OF THE TALKS, HE DISCUSSED THE PROBLEMS OF TRYING TO REFORM THE IMF'S VERY STRINGENT RULES ON CONDITIONALITY. WHEN THE QUESTION OF HOW TO REACT TO THE PRESS CAME UP, HE EXPLICITLY SAID THAT HE DID NOT ASK FOR ASSISTANCE. INSTEAD, HE SAID WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON CHANGING THE RULES OF THE IMF TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DEVELOPING WORLDS' GOALS OF EQUITY AND EMPLOYMENT.

6. MALEY SURROUNDED HIMSELF WITH HIS YOUNGEST MINISTERS DURING THESE MEETINGS, AND THESE MINISTERS REFLECTED DIFFERENT POLES OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM IN HIS PEOPLES NATIONAL PARTY, FROM RICHARD FLETCHER A PROGAMATIC ECONOMIST WHO HAD WORKED WITH THE IMF TO D. K. DUNCAN WHO IS THE MINISTER OF MOBILIZATION AND IS REPUTED TO BE ONE

OF THE MOST RADICAL MINISTERS. BUT MALEY HIMSELF AS ABOVE THESE DIFFERENCES, AND HIS STATURE, INTELLIGENCE AND ELOQUENCE PERMITS THIS VIEW A GOOD MEASURE OF CREDIBILITY. IN ADDITION, HE CORRECTLY DEDUCED THAT JAMAICA'S ECONOMIC TROUBLES WERE NOT TO BE SOLVED BY THIS TRIP, AND HE THEREFORE ASSIDUOUSLY AVOIDED DISCUSSING THE ISSUE.

7. MRS. CARTER SAID THAT SHE ENJOYED THE CONVERSATION WITH MANLEY VERY MUCH AND HAD LEARNED A LOT. WHEN THE DISCUSSIONS BECAME RELATIVELY SPECIALIZED, SHE SAID SHE WELCOMED THE COMMENTS BY TODMAN AND MYSELF.

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COSTA RICA. WE WERE WELCOMED AT THE COSTA RICA AIRPORT BY HUNDREDS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

THE DISCUSSIONS, MEETINGS AND EVENTS WERE EQUALLY WARM AND RELAXED. FOREIGN MINISTER GONZALO FACIO QUOTED THE PRESIDENT'S NOTRE DAME AND PAN AMERICAN SPEECHES SEVERAL TIMES IN HIS ARRIVAL STATEMENT, SAYING THAT COSTA RICA WAS PROUD ONCE AGAIN THAT THE US HAD REASSUMED ITS MORAL LEADERSHIP IN THE HEMISPHERE.

THIS THEME WAS REPEATED IN THE DISCUSSIONS, WHICH WERE IN ENGLISH, WITH PRESIDENT ODUBER. ODUBER MADE SEVERAL OTHER INTERESTING POINTS. FIRST, SUGGESTED THAT THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES SHOULD RELATE MUCH MORE DIRECTLY TO THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES. HE FELT THAT THE COMMONWEALTH TRADITION OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY WOULD BE VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE HEMISPHERE. SECONDLY, HE STATED THAT THEY OUGHT TO FOCUS MORE ON THE PROBLEM OF HAITI AND TRY TO INTEGRATE THAT IMPROVERISHED AND PRECARIOUS GOVERNMENT INTO A LARGER CARIBBEAN/CENTRAL AMERICAN FRAMEWORK. THIRDLY, HE WAS IN COMPLETE AND UNEQUIVOCAL AGREEMENT WITH MRS. CARTER'S PROPOSALS TO STRENGTHEN AND MAKE MORE AUTONOMOUS THE INTERAMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, TO SEEK RATIFICATION AND ENACTMENT OF THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, TO LOBBY FOR THE APPROVAL OF A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND TO JOIN WITH US AT THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO SEEK FRANK DEBATE ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION.

WE ALSO SPOKE ABOUT TRADE MATTERS, IN PARTICULAR THE MEAT IMPORT ACT. ODUBER FORCEFULLY MADE A PLEA FOR AN INCREASE IN THEIR MEAT QUOTA.

AT A CONCERT THE FIRST NIGHT, WE HEARD THE NATIONAL YOUTH SYMPHONY OF COSTA RICA AND MRS. CARTER SAID THAT SHE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS WHEN SHE RETURNED TO BRING THE ORCHESTRA TO THE US.

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ECUADOR--THE "MILITARIZATION" OF SOUTH AMERICA WAS BROUGHT HOME TO US WITH STRIKING CLARITY BY THE ARRIVAL CEREMONY. INSTEAD OF BEING GREETED BY HUNDREDS OF EXCITED CHILDREN, WE FACED AND SALUTED A BATTALION OF SOLDIERS WITH SUBMACHINE GUNS.

AS WITH ALL OF HER STOPS, SHE STATED CLEARLY AND PUBLICLY THE MAIN THEMES OF HER VISIT. IN ECUADOR, AND LATER IN PERU, SHE SAID THAT THE US VALUED THE PLEDGE OF THESE GOVERNMENTS TO RE-ESTABLISH CIVILIAN GOVERNMENTS IN A SHORT TIME, AND THAT THE US FOUND THEIR RECORDS ON HUMAN RIGHTS COMMENDABLE.

AT THE PRINCIPAL MEETING WITH THE SUPREME COUNCIL, WE FACED THE ENTIRE SUPREME COUNCIL AND HIGH MILITARY COMMAND ACROSS A LONG RECTANGULAR TABLE IN WHICH THE ATMOSPHERE AND THE TEMPERATURE WAS QUITE CHILLY. EACH GENERAL AND ADMIRAL BROUGHT A DETAILED SHOPPING LIST OF WEAPONS THAT THEY WANTED TO BUY FROM THE US TO COUNTER THE PERUVIAN THREAT.

MRS. CARTER WAS THOROUGHLY PREPARED FOR THE DISCUSSIONS, AND SHE PERSUADED THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF AMERICA'S CONCERN FOR THE POTENTIAL ARMS RACE IN THE REGION.

SHE ALSO MADE A STRONG CASE ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. ADMIRAL POVEDA AGREED TO HAVE HIS GOVERNMENT RATIFY THE AMERICAN CONVENTION AND TO WORK WITH THE US IN COORDINATING POLICY TO STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS. MRS. CARTER ALSO EXPLAINED THE US POLICY ON ARMS SALES, AND EXPRESSLY STATED THAT WE COULD NOT PROMISE ANY SALES UNLESS WE COULD BE REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT IT WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR OVERALL POLICY AND THAT WE WOULD DELIVER ON OUR PROMISE. THE CHILLINESS OF THE MILITARY BEGAN TO THAW BY THE END OF THE DISCUSSION AND CERTAINLY DURING THE DINNER.

THE EXTENT OF INSECURITY FELT BY THE ECUADOREANS CANNOT BE OVER-ESTIMATED. THEY SPENT ALMOST THE ENTIRE MEETING ON THE SECURITY ISSUE AND HARDLY EVEN DISCUSSED THE OPEC-EXCLUSIONARY AMENDMENTS
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WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO BE FOREMOST ON THEIR MINDS. SEVERAL OF THE MILITARY TRIED TO LINK THEIR SIGNING OF THE AMERICAN CONVENTION OR THEIR PROGRESS TOWARD A CIVILIAN DEMOCRACY TO OUR POSITIONS ON ARM SALES TO THEM, BUT THIS "LINKAGE" WAS NOT MADE BY ADMIRAL POVEDA, THE HEAD OF THE JUNTA, NOR DID IT APPEAR TO BE SHARED BY THE GROUP.

PERU--IN A THREE AND ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING WITH US, PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ NOT ONLY THAWED; HE WAS POSITIVELY EFFUSIVE AND EXCITED ABOUT THE RAPPORT WHICH HE ESTABLISHED WITH MRS. CARTER. SHE WAS ALSO AT HER VERY BEST. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT SHE DEMONSTRATED SUCH A COMPLETE GRASP OF THE ISSUES AS TO PERMIT HER TO SHAPE HER ARGUMENTS TO FIT HER OWN PERSONAL STRENGTHS.

SHE WAS SO PERSUASIVE THAT MORALES BERMUDEZ WAS NOT ONLY MOVED TO PLEDGE HIS SUPPORT FOR THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (A MOVE WHICH NO ONE EXPECTED), BUT HE ALSO EXPLORED WITH HER A RANGE OF ALTERNATIVES TO PERU'S ARMS BUILDUP IN THE ARMS. THESE ALTERNATIVES INCLUDED AN OAS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE (HE THOUGHT WAS A BAD IDEA; BUT RECOMMENDED INSTEAD A UN FORCE) SOME FORM OF US INVOLVEMENT IN DISCUSSIONS AMONG THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AYACUCHO DECLARATION, AND VARIOUS BILATERAL AND ULTI-LATERAL ARRANGEMENTS. SHE EXPLICITLY SAID THAT THEY COULD MAKE A BETTER CASE FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IF THEY REDUCED ARMS EXPENDITURES. IN FURTHER DISCUSSIONS, THERE WAS SOME INDICATION THAT THE REDUCTION OF ARMS PURCHASES OR THE FOREGOING OF DELIVERIES WAS NOT INFEASIBLE.

PERU HAD BEEN MORE RELUCTANT THAN ECUADOR TO DISCUSS THEIR PLANS FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, BUT MRS. CARTER REFERRED TO THEIR PLAN-TUPAC AMARU--EXPLICITLY IN HER ARRIVAL SPEECH. SHE ALSO SPOKE FORCEFULLY ABOUT CURBING ARMS EXPENDITURES AND IMPLEMENTING THE AYACUCHO DECLARATION. INSTEAD OF TAKING OFFENSE AT HER DIRECTNESS, MORALES BERMUDEZ SHOWED HIMSELF REMARKABLY EAGER TO ACCEPT AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. AND HE GAVE A COPY OF THE PLAN TO MRS. CARTER.

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THROUGHOUT THE WEEKEND, THE ENTIRE OFFICIAL PARTY HELD FRANK AND USEFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH PERUVIAN OFFICIALS, AND ALL FOUND THE PERUVIANS VERY OPEN TO US IDEAS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND REDUCING ARMS PURCHASES. AND FOREIGN MINISTER DE LA FUENTE, IN TURN, REFERRED TO THE VISIT AS "EXCEPTIONALLY POSITIVE."

IN MANY WAYS, PERU HAS BEEN THE HIGH-POINT OF HER TRIP THUS FAR, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE FRIENDLINESS, THE FRANK AND CORDIAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AND THE EXPRESSIONS (AND COMMITMENTS) OF SUPPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT BECAUSE THE RESULTS GREATLY EXCEEDED OUR EXPECTATIONS.

BRAZIL--ONE EMBASSY OFFICIAL TOLD ME THAT MRS. CARTER'S CHARM WOULD GO A LONG WAY IN ECUADOR AND PERU (AND IT DID), BUT IT WOULDN'T GET ANYWHERE IN BRAZIL.

I THINK HE WAS RIGHT. HER CONVERSATION WITH MINISTER SILVEIRA WAS A FRUSTRATING EXPERIENCE. SHE HELD HER OWN BUT HE WAS VERY SLIPPERY. SHE FORCEFULLY RESTATED THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, NON-PROLIFERATION, AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT IN THE COURSE OF PROVIDING AN OVERVIEW OF US FOREIGN POLICY. SHE ALMOST NAILED SILVEIRA TO A COMMITMENT TO WAIVE THE REMAINING CONDITIONS AND PUT THE THREAT OF TLATELOLCO INTO EFFECT BY TELLING HIM THAT IF BRAZIL DID SO IT WOULD EASILY DEMONSTRATE ITS SINCERITY IN NOT WANTING TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BUT SILVEIRA'S ASSISTANT INTERCEDED AT THE LAST MOMENT AND EXPLAINED TO HIM THAT THERE WAS IN FACT A REASON WHY BRAZIL HAD NOT YET TAKEN THAT STEP. IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS, SILVEIRA INSISTED, UNCONVINCINGLY, THAT

HE UNDERSTOOD PRESIDENT CARTER'S POLICY.

AT THE MEETING THIS MORNING WITH PRESIDENT GEISEL, MRS. CARTER SPOKE ABOUT THE SUPPORT FOR RATIFYING THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF JAMAICA, ECUADOR, AND PERU, AND REQUESTED THAT PRESIDENT GEISEL PARTICIPATE IN THIS HEMISPHERIC MOVEMENT. GEISEL FLATLY REJECTED HER OFFER.

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THE MOST SALIENT ASPECT OF THE TRIP TO BRAZIL IS THE AGGRESSIVENESS OF THE PRESS. IF ONE DID NOT KNOW BRAZIL, ONE MIGHT SUSPECT THAT THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT WAS DELIBERATELY PROVOKING THE PRESS SO THAT WE MIGHT BETTER UNDERSTAND THE KINDS OF PROBLEMS THAT THEY BELIEVE THEY FACE. AND I HAVE TO ADMIT, ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION, THAT I CAUGHT MYSELF WISHING THAT THE PRESS WERE A LITTLE LESS FREE.

THE MOMENTUM, WHICH MRS. CARTER BUILT UP IN HER FOUR PREVIOUS STOPS, APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SLOWED BY THE DISTANCE WHICH THE BRAZILIANS SEEM TO BE TRYING TO PUT BETWEEN US. I THINK SHE HAS CLEARLY IMPRESSED SILVEIRA AS WELL AS GEISEL WITH HER ABILITIES, AND HAS UNDERLINED THE COMMITMENT OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TO CERTAIN PRINCIPLES. NOT SURPRISINGLY, IN SPITE OF PERSUASIVE ARGUMENTS MADE BY MRS. CARTER, THE BRAZILIANS HAVE NOT BUDGED ONE CENTIMETER ON THEIR POSITIONS. THERE ARE STRONG VIBRATIONS IN BRASILIA THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT TO EMBARK ON A NEW ROUND OF REPRESSION, AND IT IS ONLY WAITING FOR MRS. CARTER TO DEPART. IF THAT IS THE CASE, THEN THE CLEAR AND STRONG MESSAGE, WHICH MRS. CARTER HAS CONVEYED, ABOUT WANTING TO STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS, MAY BE OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS.

&&&

OVERALL, MRS. CARTER HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY SECURE AND CONFIDENT IN HER NEW ROLE AS THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO LATIN AMERICA. HER CHARM AND GRACE HAS GIVEN HER A COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE OVER OTHER PRESIDENTIAL REPRESENTATIVES, AND SHE HAS INCREASINGLY BEEN ABLE TO USE THAT WITH GREAT SUCCESS. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HER PERFORMANCE IN THREE COUNTRIES, WHERE OUR RELATIONSHIPS HAVE BEEN STRAINED IN THE RECENT PAST--ECUADOR, IN PERU AND JAMAICA--HAVE DEFINITELY IMPROVED. AS A RESULT OF HER TRIP AND CONVERSATIONS, THE US NOW HAS STRONG, AND I BELIEVE, SINCERE PARTNERS IN COOPERATIVE PURSUITS IN THE AREAS WHICH WE

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CARE MOST ABOUT, PARTICULARLY IN HUMAN RIGHTS.

IN COSTA RICA, WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD GOOD RELATIONS, IF IT IS POSSIBLE
THAT THEY COULD BE IMPROVED, THEN SHE DEFINITELY DID IT. IN
BRAZIL, SHE HAS HAD TO WALK A VERY DIFFICULT TIGHTROPE BETWEEN
OUR COMMITMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND OUR DESIRE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS.
AT HER PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY, SHE WALKED THAT TIGHTROPE WITH
GREAT DEXTERITY, AND THE UNANIMOUSLY POSITIVE RECEPTION SHE RECEIVED
AT THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE TONIGHT IS AN INDICATION THAT HER TRIP
HERE HAS SERVED TO MODERATE AND IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS. FOREIGN
MINISTER SILVEIRA PULLED ME ASIDE TONIGHT TO
DECLARE TO ME THAT HE CONSIDERED HER VISIT A GREAT SUCCESS.
CRIMMINS UNQUOTE VANCE

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